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TO WHITE HOUSE

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HAKTB 34

DECEMBER 14, 1973

TO: WHITE HOUSE

TO: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I HAVE JUST COMPLETED TWO LONG MEETINGS IN PRIVATE WITH PRESIDENT SADAT. HE SENDS YOU HIS BEST REGARDS AND WANTS YOU TO KNOW HE REMAINS FULLY COMMITTED TO GO TO GENEVA AND NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. AS EVIDENCE OF THIS, HE WAS BOTH FLEXIBLE AND PRAGMATIC IN ADJUSTING HIS POSITION TO GET AROUND THE LAST MINUTE OBSTACLES THE ISRAELIS HAVE RAISED TO LAUNCHING THE CONFERENCE ON THE BASIS WE SUCCEEDED WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THE ARABS AND SOVIETS TO AGREE TO. HE HAS ALSO AGREED TO WEIGH IN WITH SYRIA ON THE ISRAELI POW ISSUE. IN MY TALKS WITH SADAT, WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON A NUMBER OF POINTS THAT WILL HELP GET THE CONFERENCE STARTED AND KEEP IT MOVING ON A PRACTICAL, REALISTIC BASIS.

FIRST, WE AGREED THAT THE OPENING SESSION IN GENEVA BEGINNING DECEMBER 18 WOULD LAST FOUR OR FIVE DAYS AND BE DEVOTED TO CEREMONIAL AND PROCEDURAL MATTERS, THEN ADJOURN UNTIL ABOUT JANUARY 15 TO GET US PAST THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS.

SECONDLY, WE AGREED THAT THIS FIRST PHASE WOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE QUESTION OF DISENGAGEMENT OF FORCES, DISCUSSION OF WHICH WOULD BE COMPLETED AT THE JANUARY SESSION.

THIRD, I OBTAINED SADAT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE ELEMENTS OF A DISENGAGEMENT PLAN IN SINAI WHICH GOES VERY FAR TOWARD A PROPOSAL THE ISRAELIS FLOATED EARLIER DURING THE MILITARY REPRESENTATIVE TALKS. IN BRIEF, IT WOULD (A) LEAVE A THINNED OUT EGYPTIAN MILITARY FORCE, WITH CERTAIN LIMITATIONS ON TYPE AND NUMBER OF WEAPONS, IN THEIR PRESENT POSITIONS EAST OF THE CANAL, (B) INVOLVE AN ISRAELI PULLBACK TO THE EASTERN END OF THE STRATEGIC MITRA PASS AND (C) PLACE A UN FORCE BETWEEN THE EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI LINES. ONCE THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED, SADAT SAID HE WOULD RETURN EGYPTIAN REFUGEES TO THE SUEZ CANAL CITIES AND BEGIN TO CLEAR

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INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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THE CANAL, WHICH WOULD THEN BE OPEN TO ISRAELI CARGOES.
FOURTH, SADAT AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT THE CONFERENCE, WHICH GIVES ISRAEL SERIOUS PROBLEMS, WILL NOT BE RAISED DURING THE DISENGAGEMENT PHASE--IN EFFECT, NOT THROUGH JANUARY.

FIFTH, WHILE WE AND THE SOVIETS WILL BE PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONFERENCE, SADAT AGREED THAT WE NEED NOT BE PRESENT AT MEETINGS OF SUBGROUPS OF THE PARTIES, WHICH IS WHERE THE REAL WORK OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD TAKE PLACE. THIS IN EFFECT CREATES THE KIND OF DIRECT, BILATERAL NEGOTIATING SITUATION THE ISRAELIS HAVE LONG SOUGHT.

I HAVE SENT A MESSAGE TO MRS. MEIR INFORMING HER OF THE FOREGOING WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE DISENGAGEMENT PROPOSAL. MY PRESENT INTENTION IS TO TALK TO THE ISRAELIS ABOUT DISENGAGEMENT ALONG THESE LINES WHEN I GET TO JERUSALEM. BEFORE DOING SO, HOWEVER, I WANT TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT THE SITUATION IS WHEN I GET THERE, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR THE RESULT OF OUR EFFORTS TO GET ISRAELI AGREEMENT TO GO TO GENEVA.

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